



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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13 January 1992

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Burundi

President Buyoya Addresses Diplomatic Corps

EA1201063092 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale
du Burundi Radio in French 1800 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Address by President Pierre Buyoya to the diplomatic corps in Bujumbura on 10 January—recorded]

[Excerpts] It is for the purpose of maintaining the [word indistinct] that we dedicated the year 1992 to democracy. We intend to pursue the democratization process which had been under way for a few years. We shall pursue it through the involvement of the citizens and in consultation with the people. No one could doubt the procedure which has succeeded. It has been appreciated and accepted here and outside our country. We shall, therefore, stick to the democratic path. This year, the Burundian people will take decisive steps on this path. So as to implement the determination and will, we came up with four resolutions: The first one concerns multipartyism.

As you well know, following the debate on the proposals of the constitutional commission, most of the participants opted for a political multiparty system. We noted this orientation. Moreover, we ourselves adhere to it and ask the constitutional commission to elaborate the fundamental law on the basis of a constitution which opens political pluralism in Burundi.

Ladies and gentlemen, last March, during the launching of the work of the constitutional commission, we received ideas—certainly contradictory—from impatient people. No one should have wanted to see the president giving multipartyism to the people. We rejected anti-democratic paternalism, because democracy is neither given, granted, nor imposed. It is composed of consulting, convincing, and responsibility. The multiform debate held by the different groups in all the Communes of the country had the purpose of convincing and rendering the citizens responsible. Such is the path we took, and instead of wasting time, as some said, we gained a lot in favor of democracy. [passage omitted]

Ladies and gentlemen, the second resolution is related to ending all uncertainties and further clearing the horizon of democracy. First of all, it seems that some people are still impatient with regard to scrapping the 1966 law that put (?monopartyism) into place. These people should not be worried as the law will not survive the adoption of pluralism [word indistinct]. [applause] It will be abrogated during the promulgation of the latter.

Also, the effective authorization and registration of new political parties will take place immediately after the adoption of the constitution. This means that during the referendum the law on political parties will have to be adopted. Already, we have given the mandate to the constitutional commission to create a draft. Moreover, we would like to encourage Burundians to be ready for the phase of effective political multipartyism. They can prepare themselves by studying elements in the report of

the constitutional commission, which will be elaborated very soon in a draft of the [word indistinct] constitution. [passage omitted]

The third resolution emanates from our will, demonstrated on several occasions, to move forward together in democracy with the Burundi people, as well as, of course, all legally constituted constructive political and social forces. That is why during the transitional period, which lies between the promulgation of the constitution and the creation of permanent institutions, we promise to associate the registered and representative political formations with the management of the transitional period. [applause] We shall involve them in important decisions geared towards attaining democracy. We can quote among the [words indistinct] the elaboration of the electoral code and the fixing of the political timetable. The commitment is a sign of our will to democratize from a solid and legal basis. It also shows our will to democratize in association with the democratic political forces still being formed. Democratization is the enterprise of every citizen. Our belief is that it cannot be achieved alone.

The fourth resolution consists of crowning the process of democratization, bringing it to an end [words indistinct]. This is the setting up of democratic institutions. In this regard, notwithstanding circumstances beyond our control, we plan to hold general elections during the first term of 1993 with the responsible participation of all of tomorrow's political forces.

Ladies and gentlemen, these are our commitments.

They may seem timid to some and too bold to others. However, what counts most is to keep moving in the right direction. What is especially important in democracy is to move at the rhythm of the country, with the authentic forces of change. In the enterprise of democratization, the participation of each person increases the chances of success of everyone. That is why today I call upon everybody—this is a pressing necessity—to move on the path of political pluralism and democracy. This is an imperative path and one of salvation. [passage omitted]

Ladies and gentlemen, every citizen should be aware of the immense task of democratizing the country and bringing about permanent unity. The Burundian people find themselves in the middle of [word indistinct]. They could fall but could also make the crossing. The Burundian people are at a decisive turning point. They can either slip or pursue their path.

Friends of our unity and democrats of the world are watching us with sympathy. They are with us, with their blessings and wishes of success. We express our deep gratitude to them. However, here in our country and elsewhere, far from us, there are others who are watching us with other (?hopes). They are secretly watching us in the hope that we will take a wrong step: slip down in the

muddy waters of division and violence. They will have to wait as long as eternity. [long applause]. [passage omitted]

The journey that we have made in Burundi towards the achievement of democracy falls within the framework of the democratic changes currently underway in the whole world and Africa in particular.

Burundi joined this trend in its own way so as to benefit from its advantages and avoid its (?dangers). In this regard, the convulsions that have affected some regions of the world strengthened our will to ensure a peaceful change in Burundi. Our efforts lead there and we strongly feel the wish of the Burundi people to live in lasting peace.

To friendly countries and our neighbors in particular, as well as all our foreign partners, we ask for understanding because the peace and unity that we would like to cement here in our country are also beneficial to them. [long applause].

Finally, I would like to thank you for the good wishes addressed to me and, in my turn, I would like to express to the kings, heads of state, peoples, and organizations that you represent and to each one of you and your families my best wishes for peace, happiness, and prosperity in 1992.

Thank you.

Cameroon

Planned 16 February Elections Postponed to 1 March

AB1301114392 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network
in French 1900 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Since yesterday, it has been official that Cameroonians will go to the polls on 1 March for the anticipated legislative elections. The news was publicly announced late yesterday morning at a news briefing by the minister of information and culture, Professor Augustin Kontchou.

Initially slated for 16 February 1992, the anticipated legislative elections have therefore been pushed back by two weeks.

[London BBC World Service in English at 1705 GMT on 11 January in an item in its "Focus on Africa" program adds in a studio announcer's recording of a report by Herbert Bo: "The state-run radio gave no official reason for the postponement, but a commentator said the move would give the ruling party and the 52 legal opposition parties time to elect their candidates in time for the elections. But according to the recently adopted electoral code, the new date would only leave political parties until January 17—that is next Friday—to name their candidates.

["So the new date is likely to prove unacceptable to opposition parties who have said that they need more

time to choose their candidates. They have been calling for a postponement until the end of May. Opposition parties have also argued that the legislative elections should be held at the same time as the municipal elections which will take place shortly after the mandates of the municipal administrators expire in October. Some parties, like the Social Democratic Front, have said that there should not be any elections until after the convening of a national conference and are calling for a boycott. But the government is still pushing ahead with its plans to establish electoral districts, publish electoral lists, and hold the second round of tripartite talks on constitutional changes as promised in December last year."]

Chad

Prime Minister Bawoyeu Visits Niger

AB1101143092 Njamena Radiodiffusion Nationale
Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] The prime minister, Mr. Jean Alingue Bawoyeu, began a 48-hour visit to Niger yesterday. The prime minister's visit is in line with the diplomatic offensive initiated by the government following the attack on the Lake Chad region by supporters of the ousted president who have taken refuge in neighboring Niger and Nigeria.

According to the NIGER PRESS AGENCY, the prime minister held talks with his counterpart, Amadou Cheifou. He is also expected to be granted an audience by General Ali Saibou, the head of state and chairman of the High Council of the Republic.

The prime minister is accompanied by the Chadian foreign minister, Mahamat Saleh Ahmat, the minister of tourism, Ahmad Adoum Togo, and the secretary of state for the interior, Ngamai Djari.

Burkinabe Delegation Meets Deby, Conveys Message

AB1301103092 Njamena Radiodiffusion Nationale
Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Excerpt] A Burkinabe delegation was received this afternoon by head of state Idriss Deby. The Burkinabe leader's emissaries, who brought a message to the head of state, held lengthy discussions with him. After the meeting, the head of the delegation, Burkinabe Foreign Minister Issa Dominique Konate, had this to tell our reporter, Monique Ngaralbaye:

[Begin recording] [Konate] I have brought a message from President Blaise Compaore to President Deby. As you can guess, the message concerns the good relations of fraternity and (?friendship) between the two presidents and between the Burkinabe and Chadian peoples. We know that your country has just gone through a very painful ordeal, and this is why President Compaore

charged us with expressing his total solidarity with President Deby and (?all) Chadian people to help them overcome this ordeal so that they can advance in peace and harmony for their welfare. Indeed, we are in a world where integration is the watchword and where there is the need for cooperation and solidarity among neighboring and subregional countries as well as among all countries on the continent. Before all that can be actually achieved, peace and security must reign in each of our states. It is under these conditions that we can develop economic solidarity together so that better living conditions can be ensured for our peoples.

[Ngaralbaye] What are your impressions about the state of Chad- Burkina Faso relations?

[Konate] I think that my presence here is testimony to our excellent relations, and in view of what we have seen so far, we can say that we are satisfied with these excellent relations between our two states and two peoples. This is why we should continuously strive to reinforce these excellent relations. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Communique on Arrests After Lake Chad Events

AB1001194692 Ndjamenan Radio France Internationale
Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Communique issued by the Department of National Security; read by Permanent Secretary Nbye Gardianal; date, place not given]

[Text] [Begin recording] As part of the investigation conducted after the attacks perpetrated against the people of the Lake Chad region, we had to arrest several people involved in the aggression. The series of searches conducted at the homes of the arrested led to the discovery and seizure of war weapons and ammunition in addition to documents seized on the battlefield, further aggravating their involvement in the incidents.

These people inevitably fall under the rigor of the law and will be prosecuted within the jurisdiction of the Republic. We would also like to say that some of the people who were arrested fired at security forces, which caused these officers to exercise their rights to self-defense. We unfortunately deplore, following these unfortunate incidents, the death of a police officer [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Following investigations into the rebel incursions, the following people were also arrested: Soka Aliki, Cheikh Mahamat Wakai, Adou Mounatakine, [words indistinct] Ramadan Waidou, Isouf Mamadou, Mouise Seid, Ali Setif, Ali Gourane, Captain Jerish Selboye, Alhadj Moussa Brahim, Abdel Latif Abad, Mahamat Breyar, and Henri Mourtaly.

War equipment was also seized including Kalashnikov rifles, [name indistinct] rockets, some French-manufactured weapons, a 9-mm pistol, and a container

of ammunition for Kalashnikovs. The weapons, seized at the homes of the people arrested, were shown to national newsmen this morning.

Minister, RDP Leader on Arrests

LD1001214192 Paris Radio France International
in French to Africa 1230 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In Chad, at least 13 members of the opposition were arrested during Wednesday night. The government today detailed its accusations, saying that these opposition members supported the recent offensive by Hissein Habre's supporters in the Lake Chad region. Chadian Information Minister Ahmed Soungui, spoke to our correspondent Assane Diop:

[Begin recording] [Soungui] The day the attack took place some of them went from office to office to demobilize the civil servants, to shut the market, and they celebrated. There were some who even went to certain offices to threaten people with weapons. We did not announce this, but there were one or two cases of people arrested red-handed, - with a weapon in their hand and demanding, for instance, that the Patriotic Salvation Movement [MPS] emblem be taken down.

[Diop] So all these people were once close to Habre. But are they not also people who are also close to the present mayor of Ndjamenan?

[Soungui] The links these people have with him [as heard] today are not a secret. Some of them belong to the Rally for Democracy and Progress [RDP] [words indistinct]. But I must make it clear that the RDP is in no way being targeted in this affair.

[Diop] Will there be open and unbiased judgment?

[Soungui] Of course. The president of the republic has said that the politics of tolerance will continue, and they will continue, but, as of now, the state's authority will be defined. It took us a while to make ourselves understood, and what we have received in return is Liwa, Bol, and what has just happened in Ndjamenan. [end recording]

[Announcer] Here is the response given to Assane Diop by Bire Titinan, leader of the RDP. He categorically denies the government's accusations;

[Begin Bire Titinan recording] I know, personally, that these people are against all forms of violence and war. We have even issued a communique on this subject, to explain what is happening in western Chad, in the Lake Chad area. Neither I nor my friends have any links with these people [as heard], but nonetheless, I have asked the Interior Minister to provide an explanation, to provide proof of the guilt of our friends. [end recording]

[Announcer] It is therefore difficult to obtain a clear picture. Assane Diop, you are our special correspondent in Ndjamenan. We have just heard the very entrenched government and opposition positions. What is being said in the streets of Chad's capital?

[Diop] [Passage omitted] One thing I noticed is that three-quarters of those arrested are from the Lake Chad area, the area that was the scene of last week's rebel attack. In Ndjamena many believe that certain leaders from this region—who are also from the (Goran) tribe—are also reportedly in the sights of Idriss Deby's authorities. Deby has only favored one of the (Goran) factions, and that is the Zagaoua, in the northeast. It is they who helped him regain power over Hissein Habre, and who now control the MPS. [passage omitted]

Opposition 'Shocked' by French Reaction to Killings

LD1301103992 Paris Radio France International
in French 0630 GMT 13 Jan 92

[Text] In Chad [words indistinct] the announcement by the authorities of an armed attack in the west of the country carried out by supporters of former President Hissein Habre. The opposition and humanitarian organizations are denouncing what they call a real police operation unleashed by the Idriss Deby regime against those who do not always agree with him about how to conduct the country's affairs. (?Leading) this critical movement, Mr. (Lol Mohamed Sua), the mayor of Ndjamena and president of the RPP, the Rally for Democracy and Progress, says that three members of the leadership of his party were killed during the arrests carried out over the past few days, and that nine others were arrested. Among the dead is Mamadou Bisso, former head of the Chad Water and Electricity Company. Correspondent Assane Diop has more:

[Begin Diop recording] The killing of Mamadou Bisso, member of the leadership of the RDP, is eloquent: according to the mayor of Ndjamena, he was killed by a bullet in his back by the political police of the Idriss Deby regime. When we asked him about it, the Chad minister of the interior spoke of restraint by the security services and refused to admit the evidence of Bisso having been executed.

In Ndjamena, the circles of the opposition and of human rights organizations are shocked by France's reaction to the arrests. The Quai d'Orsay [French Foreign Office]

affirms that every guarantee of fair trials has been given by the Chadian authorities. [passage indistinct]

According to a Chadian source, Paris' good faith is allegedly being abused by an agent of the French secret service who is a henchman of Idriss Deby. [passage indistinct]

Assane Diop, Ndjamena, RFI. [end recording]

Lake Chad Fighting Not as Extensive as Indicated

AB1101150392 Paris AFP in English 0514 GMT
11 Jan 92

[Excerpts] Liwa, Chad, Jan 11 (AFP)—A tour of the zone near Lake Chad indicates that the fighting was far less extensive than the government of President Idriss Deby had indicated.

Four Western journalists, one from AFP, observed that the fighting appeared to have involved not the 2,000 rebels claimed by the government but no more than 500. [passage omitted]

The government had claimed the National Army had repulsed the attackers, loyal to former president Hissein Habre, but no army vehicles could be seen, only those marked MPS (Popular Salvation Movement, Deby's party).

Liwa, according to the government, was the first to fall before the government onslaught, but the town shows no trace of fighting.

A few kilometers away, two burned out Toyota Land-Cruisers equipped with 14.5-millimeter cannon testify that there has been some sort of combat. But two abandoned armored cars from the government reveal no bullet marks: Only clutchplates burned out in an effort to get out of a soft sand pit. Near Bol, four Toyota carcasses and three antitank shell casings are all there is to see. The remains are a little more abundant at Boltram, in the same area. There, in addition to a dozen burned vehicles, there are 10 fresh graves. [passage omitted]

Kenya

Foreign Minister, Ugandan Counterpart Hold Talks

EA1001152092 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1000 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] Kenya and Uganda held bilateral talks to pave the way for the formation of a permanent joint ministerial commission that would forge greater political, economic and cultural ties between Uganda and Kenya. The minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Wilson Ndolo Ayah, and the second deputy prime minister and minister for foreign affairs and regional affairs in Uganda, Paul Ssemogerere, held talks today in Nairobi, and commended the initiative taken by the two presidents in suggesting the formation of the commission. Ayah said that the commission will serve as a forum for regular consultations and reflect the collective desire of the Kenyan and Ugandan people to strengthen all bilateral relations between the two countries.

[Begin Ayah video recording] We are meeting this morning to work out areas of cooperation, to strengthen those areas where there have been slight weaknesses and to ensure that the people of East Africa and the peoples of Uganda and Kenya continue to live as neighbors and as friends and as relatives. [end recording]

[Begin Ssemogerere video recording] We are here on a mandate from our heads of state, a mandate which is most welcome and I believe quite popular among all our people in Kenya and in Uganda, to map out a course for closer cooperation in political, economic, and social and cultural matters. We have come with better enthusiasm from Uganda for this meeting, and we are very optimistic that we are going to end on fruitful and successful notes. [end recording]

FORD Cautions Moi on Politicizing Armed Forces

EA1001141092 Nairobi DAILY NATION
in English 10 Jan 92 p 28

["FORD Cautions Moi on Forces" by Irungu Ndirangu and George Owuor]

[Excerpt] The Forum for the Restoration of Democracy [FORD] yesterday cautioned President Moi against involving the Armed Forces in party politics. The FORD said the action would plunge the country into disaster and also cautioned service commanders against involvement in partisan politics.

In a statement read by former labour minister, Titus Mbatia, at the FORD's Agip House offices, Nairobi, the Forum said the attendance of service commanders at a KANU [Kenya African National Union] governing council meeting last year raised eyebrows. "This event tended to fortify rumours to the effect that President Moi has plans to hand over power to the Army to avoid imminent ouster through the ballot box. The FORD and other Kenyans protested this episode," the statement

said. "It is with these matters in mind that the FORD wishes to caution President Moi in particular and the commanders of the Armed Forces not to for any reason, imagined or real, contemplate the engagement of our patriotic forces in such a dangerous enterprise which would plunge this country into disaster", the FORD said. The FORD also cautioned the government against "continued use of the police to harass and intimidate Kenyans." [passage omitted]

Police Raid FORD News Conference on 'Coup'

AB1001185892 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 10 Jan 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] One of Kenya's main new political parties, the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, FORD, held a press conference in Nairobi today to launch a bombshell claim that a military coup was being planned for tomorrow. But it all ended in fiasco when police arrived and people took to flight in all directions. Our correspondent, Souleyman Salim, was there. On the line Robin White asked him what happened.

[Begin recording] [Salim] Well, after the meeting, a few plainclothes officers came into the press conference room and they detained about half a dozen of the FORD Steering Committee members. They wanted them to accompany them to the police station and make statements about what they had said at the meeting. At that point some person came into the press room and asked the FORD members to make a run for it, which they did, and the police could not stop them.

[White] So, in the end no one got arrested at all, or taken to the police station?

[Salim] No, one lawyer, who is a member of FORD, was saying to the policemen that he will be going to the police station voluntarily to make a statement. One police officer told me that all they wanted was for these people to accompany them to the police station to make statements. The FORD members refused to do so until their lawyers appeared, and the police were going to bring a van, their van to take them to the police station. But before all that happened, this commotion occurred.

[White] So, the FORD people run away. Has anybody run after them to try to catch them?

[Salim] Yes, some of the police run after them. But I do not know whether anyone has been caught. But I do not think that is very important because they would know who these people are and they can arrest them at any other time.

[White] But do you think the police might leave the matter to rest here?

[Salim] I doubt it because it is claimed that these people have been saying at the meeting: It is serious enough as to cause disturbances or breach of the peace.

[White] Now FORD had called this press conference to make claims that there was about to be a coup in Kenya, as I understand it. Now, is there any evidence at all that any such thing is pending in Kenya.

[Salim] None whatsoever. In fact, the FORD people, they faced a very, very tough questioning from the press. And they were saying that they have no evidence at all. So we, of course, are treating it all as a rumor and really we would not like to say too much about that, because it is a rumor.

[White] But did they produce any evidence whatsoever to support their contention?

[Salim] None whatsoever. [end recording]

Government Dismisses FORD Coup Claims

EA1001210392 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] The government has dismissed as malicious and unfounded rumors and allegations that the military intended to take over the constitutional government of Kenya tomorrow.

A statement signed by the permanent secretary, secretary to the cabinet, and head of the public service, Professor Philip Mbithi, said the government had learned with serious concern and regret that some leaders from the opposition had resorted to spreading unfounded rumors whose intention was to cause and spread fear, worry, unrest, and despondency among law-abiding citizens, contrary to the law.

This afternoon, several members of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, FORD, led by Kimani wa Nyoike, assembled at Chester House for a press conference, and proceeded to drop a bombshell, alleging that the Armed Forces of Kenya intended to take over the government.

The FORD statement further alleged that in the process of the coup 144 opposition figures would be arrested, including Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Mwai Kibaki.

FORD continued to allege that retired senior military officers have been approached to take part in the coup under the command of a defense council.

The statement read by Kimani wa Nyoike condemned the rumored coup. But the FORD leaders faced a barrage of questions from the journalists at the press conference as they had no concrete facts to back their claim.

Those who flanked Kimani wa Nyoike included a former member of parliament, [Eliud] Matu Wamae; Wanguhu Ng'ang'a; Professor Wangari Maathai; Wambui Otieno; (Nyagitha Miller); Luke Obok; James Orenge; and a

former member of parliament from Northeastern Province. None of the six founder members of FORD was present at the press conference.

The meeting, however, took a dramatic turn when Special Branch police officers arrived at the scene and demanded that the FORD leaders accompany them to the police station to make a statement.

As the police waited for reinforcement, the FORD members took their heels with police in pursuit. This is what ensued: [video footage shows FORD members running from conference]

Meanwhile, a government statement issued today says the police have been given instructions to arrest anyone spreading false and alarmist rumors. The statement said that individuals will be made to authenticate and give the sources of their rumors. The statement further said certain desperate and malicious individuals were marauding the country and especially urban centers, spreading rumors.

Two Opposition Figures Arrested

EA1101181592 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1600 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Following a government statement yesterday cautioning against rumormongers, the police today swung in action arresting various personalities in the opposition. Former Vice President Dr. Josaphat Karanja was picked up from his Muthaiga residence at 3:15 p.m. His driver, Wilfred Waitiki told KTN that Karanja was taken away in a light blue Peugeot 504 station wagon.

Also arrested today was former Mathira member of parliament, [Eliud] Matu Wamae, who was arrested at 1:30 p.m. Family members said that the former legislator was arrested by eight police officers in two cars, and have been trying to trace Wamae in police stations and at the CID headquarters but in vain.

Another opposition figure, Wambui Otieno, the wife of the late lawyer, S. M. Otieno, escaped arrest after police visited her house but found she was not in.

All three were signatories to a statement released by members of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, FORD, which alleged that the government was planning to hand over power to the military tonight. The government has since denied the allegation as damaging and malicious. [passage omitted]

FORD Leaders Dissociate From Coup Claim

EA1101193192 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Text] Meanwhile, there are indications that there are cracks in the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy [FORD] leadership. The chairman of the information and publicity committee, Gitobu Imanyara, has disassociated the FORD leadership from the press statement read out by some FORD officials at Chester House

yesterday. In a statement, Imanyara said that Oginga Odinga had instructed Paul Muite to investigate the rumors about the coup and that nobody had the right to call a press conference before the investigations were complete. He said that people who should issue statements on behalf of FORD are the national interim chairman or any of the national interim office-bearers specifically instructed by Oginga Odinga.

Charges Against Opposition Figures Announced

EA1201113592 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Former Vice President Josephat Njuguna Karanja and former Mathira MP [Member of Parliament] Matu Wamae, will in due course appear in court to answer charges of spreading unfounded and malicious rumors with intention to cause and spread unrest, fear, despondency, and alarm among law-abiding citizens, Senior Assistant Commissioner of Police Jeremiah Matigaro told KBC today in a telephone conversation. Mr. Matigaro further said police were cracking down other people involved in spreading these unfounded and malicious rumors.

[In an earlier newscast at 0600 GMT on 12 January, KBC also reported: "KANU [Kenya African National Union] Secretary General Mr. Joseph Kamotho reiterated yesterday [11 January] that the government will not tolerate acts of lawlessness being perpetrated by leaders of opposition parties in the country. Mr. Kamotho, who is also the minister for education, said the recent repeal of section 2(A) of the Constitution was not a license for the opposition to start spreading rumors aimed at causing panic and despondency among wananchi [citizens]. He said the government will not sit back and watch some few people stirring up trouble. The minister noted that tactics of using rumors and lies are outdated, and should not be used in today's politics. Mr. Kamotho was speaking when he conducted a harambee [fund raising meeting] to help four primary schools in Gacharageini sublocation, Kangema division of Murang'a district."

FORD Member Hides To Avoid Arrest

EA1201210092 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Attempts by police to arrest award winning environmentalist Professor Wangari Mathai have so far failed after she locked herself in her south "C" [in Nairobi] house, refusing the police entry today. Mathai was one of the ten members of FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy] who addressed a press conference that alleged a military takeover in the making in the country. She was visited by cleric Reverend Timothy Njoya who, however, was not allowed entry into the house. Prof. Wangari Mathai now still remains in her house but security personnel have surrounded her house.

More on Arrests of Opposition Figures

EA1201212092 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1600 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Senior Assistant Commissioner of Police Jeremiah Matigaro today said Karanja and Matu Wamae will appear in court soon. Matigaro said contrary to the family members assertion that Wamae was being held incommunicado, he was being allowed access to his lawyers as provided for in the law. Karanja and Matu Wamae were arrested yesterday following an international press conference which they held jointly with eight other people claiming that there was a plan to hand over the civilian government of Kenya to the military.

Following the arrest, opposition lawyer Paul Muite today stated that the panic situation that surrounded the rumors of the alleged coup could have been avoided if dialogue between KANU [Kenyan African National Union] and other opposition parties was established.

Muite said that an inter-party committee, as demanded by the opposition, would have provided a suitable forum where such rumors could be discussed privately. He said that in the absence of such dialogue the only means of communication between the government and the opposition was through the press.

Muite also claimed that his client Matu Wamae had been denied access to his lawyers and family members. He challenged the police to produce Wamae in court or set him free.

Minister Accuses FORD of Tribalist 'Plot'

EA1301090092 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 12 Jan 92

[Text] Agriculture Minister Elijah Mwangale today alleged that the steering committee of FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy] has hatched a plot to eliminate some of their founding members who did not hail from central province should the opposition party emerge victorious in the forthcoming elections in Kenya. This, the senior government minister claimed, would help alienate any individual outside the central province the opportunity to lead the country in the event of KANU [Kenya African National Union] losing in the elections. [sentence as heard]

Asked to comment on Mwangale's allegations, FORD interim official Paul Muite said that he had no wish to dignify Mwangale's allegation by engaging in a public debate with him. He termed Mwangale's remarks as a demonstration of tribalism at its worst and aimed at driving a wedge between ethnic groups in the country. Mwangale advised FORD members Messrs Martin Shikuku and Masinde Muliro to defect and join KANU if they hoped to be rewarded in the next government to be formed after the elections. Addressing a KANU recruitment drive in Bungoma, Mwangale said that a remark by a member of FORD, Geoffrey Kariithi, who

recently defected from KANU, that some old FORD interim officials need to be medically examined to determine their leadership qualities was a pointer to the assassination allegation. Mwangale claimed that the Luhya, who were the second largest tribe in Kenya, were eager to vote as a block to support the current government.

Democratic Party Urged To Join FORD

EA1001141692 Nairobi KTN Television in English
0500 GMT 9 Jan 92

[From the press review]

[Text] Former minister, Peter Oloo Aringo, urged the Democratic Party of Kenya, DP, led by Mwai Kibaki, to disband and join forces with the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, FORD, in order to remove KANU [Kenya African National Union] from leadership. Aringo said this during a press conference at Parliament buildings yesterday during which he stated that he had resigned from KANU because he was opposed to a one-man dictatorship and the domination of the party by a small clique of godfathers. This is a lead item on page two of THE STANDARD.

More Deaths Reported in Tribal Clashes 9 Jan

EA1001141292 Nairobi KTN Television in English
0500 GMT 10 Jan 92

[From the press review]

[Text] The front page of THE STANDARD has a story that says more deaths have been reported with 20 people injured during fierce tribal clashes along the Narok-Uasin Gishu-Kakamega districts common borders yesterday.

Moi Warns on Land Clashes, Rumors

EA1101070892 Nairobi KNA in English 1350 GMT
10 Jan 92

[Text] Nairobi, 10 Jan (KNA)—His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today said the government viewed with seriousness the acts of lawlessness along the Nandi-Uasin Gishu and Kakamega border area.

In a statement issued from State House, Nakuru, the president said the recurrence of clashes in the area will not be tolerated. President Moi said the government had already sent reinforcements of security personnel to keep law and order within the area. He called for an immediate cessation of the acts of violence, adding that the government will take stern measures against those found creating trouble.

The president emphasised that the government would continue ensuring that there was sufficient security so that wananchi [citizens] could go about their nation-building activities without fear. At the same time President Moi told Wananchi in the affected areas to report to

the authorities individuals they suspect of fomenting trouble so that legal action could be taken.

Meanwhile, a government statement issued today said the police had been given instructions to arrest anyone spreading false and alarmist rumours.

The statement said that individuals would be made to authenticate and give the sources for their rumours. It said certain desperate and malicious individuals were marauding the country and especially urban centres spreading rumours.

Police in Thika Said To Remove FORD Stickers

EA1201212792 Nairobi KTN Television in English
0500 GMT 12 Jan 92

[From the press review]

[Text] Police in Thika [north east of Nairobi] have forcibly removed pro-FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy] stickers on all taxis operating within the town, reports the SUNDAY NATION on its back page. According to the story, the operation was carried out on Friday night [10 January].

Mbooni MP To Launch Social Democratic Party

EA1001213792 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] The Mbooni Member of Parliament [MP], Johnstone Makau, today announced his intention to form the fourth [as heard] political party in the country to be called the Social Democratic Party of Kenya. In a statement issued today, Makau said his party to be launched on Tuesday next week [14 January] will strive to achieve a social democratic government characterized by respect of human rights accountability, transparency, and patriotism. Makau called for the release of all political prisoners, adding that the independence of a country could not be said to have been fully attained while there were still people languishing in prisons due to their political beliefs.

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Youth Group To Organize Political Party

*EA1101152592 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1600 GMT 10 Jan 92*

[Text] A group of Kenyan youth [as heard] have declared their intention to launch a party known as the Kenya Youth Associated With the Restoration of Democracy, or YARD, on 28th of this month.

In a statement forwarded by the interim chairman of the group, (Eliud Ambani Mulama) and a founder member, (Charles Mwayu Lid), today, the group says it aims at restoring democracy that has been badly eroded by those in KANU [Kenyan African National Union] [ruling party] and others who have defected from the ruling party, which is KANU.

The two said the youth believed they were leaders of today and not tomorrow. They also warned the elders to stop calling the youth drug addicts and called for the release of all political prisoners.

The group asked all youth and women to help unseat the older generation of leaders and enjoy the fruits of independence at a prime age and asked for at least seven months to program themselves towards that goal.

Emerging Political Party Releases Constitution

*EA1101154592 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 11 Jan 92*

[Text] The Mbooni member of parliament, Johnstone Makau, has released the constitution of his Social Democratic Party [SDP] which he intends to launch next Tuesday [14 January].

One of the goals of the SDP Party Constitution is to set up an independent and autonomous institute to research on matters relating to good governance, human rights, accountability, transparency. The institute, according to [the] SDP Constitution is to be run by a board of trustees.

Japan To Reestablish Diplomatic Relations 13 Jan*MB1201202892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2014 GMT 12 Jan 92*

[Text] Pretoria Jan 12 SAPA—Japan re-established diplomatic relations with South Africa on Monday [13 January], with letters exchanged between SA [South African] Foreign Minister Mr Roelof Botha and Japan's deputy prime minister and foreign minister, Mr Michio Watanabe.

A statement issued by Mr Watanabe in Pretoria said Japan decided to resume diplomatic relations because of the positive developments in South Africa towards establishing democratic institutions, and particularly the start of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in December last year.

The statement said Japan would strengthen further its engagement with South Africa to help bring about the early establishment of a democratic and free South Africa, and that it would work to develop stable relations with a new South Africa.

ANC Releases 80th Anniversary Statement*MB0801134192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0848 GMT 8 Jan 92*

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the African National Congress: "Statement of the National Executive Committee [NEC] on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the African National Congress—January 8, 1992]

[Text] Fellow South Africans, comrades and compatriots, today, January 8, we celebrate the 80th anniversary of the formation of the African National Congress [ANC].

Through the length and breadth of South Africa and in many parts of the world, anti-apartheid fighters and democrats - young and old, black and white - join hands to reflect on the history of struggle against racial oppression and tyranny and to take stock of the tasks that lie ahead. This is the case because the African National Congress has been and remains the torch-bearer of the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

We take this opportunity to congratulate the people of our country who successfully implemented the programme outlined in our statement on the occasion of January 8 last year, registering new advances in our struggle to attain democracy.

The commemoration of our anniversary this year bears a quality and content different from all previous years. A new spirit is abroad in our land. The successful convocation of the first sitting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is a great achievement for all South Africans.

However, we are under no illusion that the transition to democracy will be plain sailing. The more serious business of this convention has just started; and the historic duty of ridding our country of the criminal system of apartheid still awaits accomplishment.

Road to Democracy

It is a reflection of the advances we have made that South Africa is now firmly on the road to democracy. Properly organised, no force can stop our people from achieving democracy in the shortest possible time.

Those on the extreme right of the political spectrum who cling to the past with threats against negotiations might possibly delay transition to democracy. But they cannot stop it. Attempts to block the march of history and use violence to perpetuate discredited apartheid policies or even [word indistinct] by lead to a replay of conflict which will cause greater devastation on our whole society.

In the last instance, those who seek to subvert democracy will lose because democracy will surely triumph. Our destiny as a people - black and white - is intertwined. We owe it to future generations to rebuild our country afresh as our common heritage.

The formation of the ANC was in large measure a response to the 1910 Act of Union. This act represented an illegitimate agreement at an earlier convention between British imperialism and the colonial settlers to unite South Africa on the basis of the racial exclusion of the majority of its people.

Today we celebrate our 80th anniversary after the adoption of a declaration of intent containing constitutional principles which unequivocally reject the policies and practices of apartheid and racial domination. For the first time ever, as a result of struggle, representatives of the oppressed people and the apartheid regime have together committed themselves to jointly explore the creation of democratic institutions in South Africa.

It is not with a spirit of self-congratulation and undue optimism that we assert that the policies of the founders of the African National Congress are being further vindicated before our very eyes. The 80 years of uninterrupted struggle led by the ANC are about to bear fruit.

The founding conference in Mangaung, Bloemfontein on January 8, 1912 brought together great patriots such as John Langalibalele Dube, Pixley Ka Izaka Seme, Sol Plaatje, Sam Makgatho, Walter Rubusana, Charlotte Maxeke, Thomas Maphikela and Edward Tsewu. In recognition of the role of their forefathers in the wars of resistance and the contribution they could make in forging the future, Solomon Ka Dinizulu of the Zulu, Montsioa of the Barolong, Lewanika of the Lozi, Letsie II of the Sotho, Lobatsibeni of the Swazi, Dalindyebo of the Thembu, Sekhukhuni of the Pedi, Khama of the

Tswana and other traditional leaders participated on that historic day to help establish the African National Congress.

We pay special tribute to one of the first honorary presidents of the ANC, that patriotic leader of our people, King Dinizulu Ka Cetshwayo who, in his absence, was given this accolade in recognition of his commitment to the struggle against white domination in general, and his role in the armed Anti-Poll Tax Revolt of 1906, in particular.

We salute these and other great leaders and organisers of the ANC who saw to its development in the early years. We pay tribute to the workers, civics, women, youth, religious leaders, traditional leaders, business-people, the rural masses and others, for their relentless struggle which has brought us to this phase where we can with confidence say that the future is more than ever before within our grasp.

The imperative of national unity through struggle was pinned to the mast of the African National Congress from its very inception. In the long years of the wars of resistance, the African people in particular were defeated as different ethnic units. Their heroic spirit was weakened by their disunity. The formation of the ANC constituted an important break with the past: The adoption of new forms of struggle as a united people. It signalled the beginning of a process to remove a key obstacle to freedom which our founders correctly described in 1912, as "the demon of tribalism".

It is a matter of great pride for us that at the founding conference of the ANC were leaders of the people of the sub-continent. This underlined then, as it does today, that the people of our region and Africa as a whole share a common destiny. As we enter the transition to democracy, we are well aware that we are fulfilling the dream of hundreds of millions on our continent to rid Africa once and for all of the scourge of racism and colonialism.

Relentless Struggle

The African National Congress and the oppressed and democratic forces of our country look at the future with confidence because we base ourselves on the foundation of eight decades and more of unrelenting struggle. We are determined to learn from our successes and our failures.

In these 80 years, we have become keenly aware that only in active struggle can the democratic movement shift the balance of forces in favour of the oppressed people. The staying power of our movement rests on firm links with the mass of the people. This is the only guarantee of victory.

From the early years - in the campaigns against passes for women, the land acts and Hertzog bills, in the passive resistance campaign of the Indian congresses, the Great

Miners' Strike of 1946 and other actions - the ANC and its allies asserted the rights of the people in actual struggle.

Although there were militant demonstrations on several occasions before, it was with the adoption of the programme of action in 1949 that the ANC set itself firmly on a course of active mass resistance to the system of white domination. This found expression in the defiance campaign, organisation and mobilisation for the congress of the people where the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955, uprisings of the landless rural masses, women's actions against passes, stays-at-home, bus boycotts and other actions.

In the decade of the 50s, the ANC, hand-in-hand with its allies - the South African Congress of Trade Unions, South African Indian Congress, Coloured People's Congress, Congress of Democrats and the then underground South African Communist Party - grew to become the single-most powerful voice against the system of racial tyranny. It was during this decade that non-racial unity was consolidated in struggle, laying the foundation for the development of the ANC into the truly non-racial national organisation that it is today.

Umkhonto we Sizwe [ANC military wing; MK]

When the time came to resist arms in hand, the ANC did not shirk its responsibility. Despite the fact that the odds were weighted against the democratic forces and the setbacks suffered in the early years of underground operation, efforts were made to build the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and root it among the people. Over the years Umkhonto developed to become a reliable cutting edge of the people's struggle for freedom and justice. It therefore occupies a place of honour among the forces which have brought South Africa to this dawn of a new era - as an army of the voteless and democratic majority.

At this historical juncture, it is incumbent upon cadres of the people's army, MK, to take active part in the life of their communities. They should seek all the time to be true examples of a people's security force, that respects the communities and imparts the necessary skills to ensure that the people can protect themselves. They should continually improve their own skills and prepare for the central role they will play in the defence and police forces of a democratic South Africa and in the transition.

The bedrock of the development of Umkhonto was the mass actions of the people in defiance of apartheid repression. From the late 1960s and especially in the two decades that followed, popular actions made it impossible for the apartheid regime to continue ruling in the old way. The call by the ANC and its allies to make the country ungovernable was answered with vigour. As mass and armed actions dovetailed into a generalised popular offensive, the crisis of apartheid deepened and the regime's retreat routes narrowed.

On this day, we pay tribute to the heroes of the people's army, whose selfless contribution to the overall struggle made it possible for us to reach the decisive phase we are at today. We lower our banners in memory of these martyrs, some of whose remains lie buried in faraway lands. We salute the fighters of the mass democratic movement who lost their lives in the line of duty.

We owe it to all these heroes to ensure that the process we have now embarked upon is neither derailed nor delayed. We owe it to their memory to move with deliberate speed to the democratic South Africa for which they made the supreme sacrifice.

Mass Action for Transfer of Power

We have just emerged from yet another eventful year in the calendar of our struggle. 1991, the year of mass action for the transfer of power, was so designated because of the realisation that mass action has become more crucial than ever before in our struggle. Without mass action we cannot move forward. Without the people in constant political motion, our demands at the negotiations table will sound hollow. Without mass action, the process we have entered into will be relegated to an exchange among leaders. It will lack the decisive input of the people.

Throughout this past year, we have had to fight every inch of the way in the effort to realise free political activity and ensure a fair and just transition to democracy. Central in these actions - from the marches on the opening of parliament, consumer boycotts, rallies and general strikes - is one crucial message: That the apartheid regime does not have the right to rule our country even one day longer.

A special place among these actions belongs to the general strike and other actions against Value Added Tax [VAT], led by COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] which united the widest possible spectrum of social forces. In its unilateral decision to impose this tax, the regime sounded an important warning to the people of our country. This warning is that we cannot focus our attention solely on the constitutional and political issues of transition.

At virtually all levels of the economy, the regime and big business are engaged in a concerted drive to restructure the economy at the expense of the poor. Privatisation, VAT, proposed mineral laws and other plans are among the many measures they hope to use to ensure that a new democratic government will be left without the means to redress the historical socio-economic injustices brought about by apartheid.

The anti-VAT general strike served an important notice that the people will not allow this legalised plunder. In the coming months, it will be necessary to strengthen our intervention in socio-economic matters to stop the regime's programmes and initiate measures that will help lay the basis for a democratic economy.

Vibrant Organisation

1991 saw the development of the ANC into a vibrant organisation, a pace-setter in the streets as well as in negotiations and an example of democratic practice.

The African National Congress has re-established itself as a truly national organisation. From the southern tip of the continent to the Limpopo, in both rural and urban areas, ANC branches are being set up. Black and white democrats: women, youth, workers, religious personalities, traditional leaders, business-people - all these forces and others have swelled the ranks of the ANC because it voices their aspirations.

At our first ever national conference within South Africa in more than 30 years, we reviewed the state of the nation and our organisation and charted the way forward. It is common cause that this conference was infused with a democratic spirit, unprecedented in the history of this country. We emerged from the 48th national conference stronger and with a clearer purpose and vision. It is no exaggeration to say that the events unfolding today owe their success to the contributions of the branches and mandated delegates to that historic conference.

Yet we must improve our organisational capacity if we are to meet the new challenging tasks. The environment within which we have to operate is changing all the time. Many weaknesses remain, making it difficult for our structures to fully harness the support that the ANC enjoys among the people. We are still not doing enough to generate among our members and supporters the much needed resources for our operations. Adequate leadership must be exercised not only from national office. All our structures must become the tribune of the people, capable of giving leadership and guiding the search for viable remedies to the people's plight.

The all-round clarity and consistency of our pronouncements, the vitality of our political life in the lowest structures and our links with the masses are the only means to guarantee the growth and development of our organisation. As we enter the new and uncharted terrain of open political contest in the build-up to democratic elections, we need to combine all these qualities with the necessary expertise that these new forms of struggle demand.

Political Violence

But our efforts will be limited if the atmosphere for normal political activity has not been realised. The violence engulfing our country is the major impediment in this regard. During the course of the past year, thousands of our people were killed and maimed in senseless carnage directed at members of the ANC and its allies and black communities in general.

The sheer scale and brutality of the killings and the seeds of hatred being sown will leave a terrible blot on the soul of the whole nation.

The African National Congress initiated and took an active part in the preparations for the national peace convention because we value life and seek harmony among our people. We are not only involved in the structures set up by the Peace Accord; we seek to speed up the process and place all these structures on a sound operational footing in the various regions.

But it is quite clear that these structures and the codes of conduct adopted will be meaningless if the killings continue.

In the communities bearing the brunt of this violence, evidence of police collusion and disregard of the agreed codes abounds. The media continue to uncover facts about the involvement of the apartheid army and police in perpetrating violence. Public funds have been used to support parties implicated in the violence. There is an evident reluctance on the part of the regime to outlaw the carrying of dangerous weapons in public, despite the alarming death toll.

All these developments point to one reality: The white minority regime is talking peace on the one hand while colluding in the war against its opponents on the other. In this way, they hope to exact from the liberation movement compromises that will leave the system of apartheid essentially unchanged. The irresponsible statements and threats of civil war from certain political leaders also attest to this heinous strategy.

Open Letter

When the ANC issued the open letter to the government in April of last year, we sought to sensitise the public about the seriousness of this danger and to nudge the regime into taking the necessary measures to deal with this horrendous situation. Their half-hearted measures and refusal to clear other obstacles demonstrate that the apartheid rulers are neither willing nor capable of bringing about free political activity. The racist regime is the major obstacle to the process of fundamental change. It must make way for an interim government of national unity.

Therefore, while we intensify the implementation of the agreements contained in the Peace Accord and take all necessary measures to bring peace to our communities, we must redouble our efforts to put in place an interim government which enjoys the confidence of the people as a whole.

Broad Patriotic Front

The phase of struggle we have entered requires the widest possible unity of all forces opposed to apartheid. No single organisation, no matter how powerful, can shoulder the burden of the challenges facing the country alone. The urgent task confronting all the people of South Africa today is the transfer of power from the white minority regime to the people.

The ANC's approach to the broad patriotic front initiative is guided by this perspective. When the patriotic front conference was finally held in October, it signified the culmination of efforts by the ANC and other organisations to empower the overwhelming majority of the people for the task of transfer of power. This historic achievement should be consolidated in actual struggle.

Basing itself on the decisions of this conference, the ANC took the initiative in calling for the immediate convening of an all-party congress which was realised in the holding of Codesa. We placed before this forum the demands of the patriotic forces for a constituent assembly and impartial transitional mechanisms. In this endeavour, the ANC enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of the organisations which took part in that conference: political parties and organisations, trade unions, youth and students' structures, women's organisations, professional associations, business organisations and others.

The solemn pledge from the patriotic front conference was to pursue the objective of transfer of power with all deliberate speed. Those who approach the front with the seriousness it deserves cannot therefore be embarrassed, as some seem to be, by the advances South Africa is making in this direction. It is the duty of the ANC and all other forces who subscribe to that historic declaration of the patriotic front conference to ensure that we act together to achieve the demands contained in it. It is also our duty to win over as many forces as possible into this front.

Freedom will be won nowhere else but in struggle, including, as the patriotic front conference resolved, in the theatre of negotiations. All efforts need to be directed at consolidating unity against the [passage indistinct].

International Community

As 1991 drew to a close, the commonwealth of nations, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the United Nations General Assembly all unanimously took far-reaching decisions regarding their support for the struggle against apartheid. These decisions reflected in part the leadership role of African states and the organisation of African unity, whose commitment to our cause we shall always cherish. It is a measure of the stature of our movement and the correctness of its approach that the resolutions taken by these august bodies correspond with our own policy positions as reflected in the decisions of our 48th National Conference.

Basically, the international community is saying that the system of apartheid and its perpetrators should continue to be isolated as has been the case before. However, the new organs of the transition that are being born in struggle should be given maximum support. This should include relevant measures against those who violate agreements of the national peace convention and Codesa.

The concrete programmes emerging from this process seek to relate the lifting of isolation to specific steps in the direction of a democratic South Africa.

The presence of eminent representatives of the OAU, the Commonwealth, NAM, UN, European Community and the International Committee of the Red Cross at the first sitting of Codesa is one example of the moral and political support these forces can give to the process now under way. Certainly, as the process unfolds, their involvement will have to be increased in accordance with concrete needs and agreements reached among various parties within South Africa.

Their expertise in transitional processes, the moral power of their supervision and monitoring, the strength of their voice in the verification of the outcome of various stages of the transition will not only help guarantee fairness in the process. It will also ensure that finally emerges enjoys international legitimacy. After all, it is in no small measure thanks to the efforts of anti-apartheid forces the world over, responding to the massive build up of internal struggles, that South Africa today is entering the stage of transition to democracy.

We salute the anti-apartheid movement worldwide for its role in advancing the democratic struggle in our country. As we enter this crucial phase, we call on all these forces to intensify their efforts against apartheid in all its manifestations, including that of political violence. Their support for the process now under way will not only ensure a free and fair transition, but will also help speed up the realisation of a democratic South Africa.

Interdependent World

Precisely because we live in an interdependent world, we are duty-bound to learn from and take advantage of developments in other regions of the world.

In this regard we take heart at the first steps taken in the Middle East towards a peaceful negotiated settlement. The right of the Palestinian people to statehood is not only morally just; it is a necessary prerequisite for peace in that embattled region. Similarly, we are encouraged by developments towards a negotiated settlement in El Salvador, underpinned, among others, by the restructuring of the security forces and the prominent role of the United Nations. In Western Sahara, positive steps are also being taken in this direction.

We reiterate our solidarity with the people of East Timor and elsewhere in their struggle for national self-determination.

In Eastern Europe, upheavals of major proportions are afoot. In the final analysis, the prerogative to choose, amend and change a status quo belongs to the people of any given country. We express our gratitude to the peoples and governments of the former Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe who gave us all-round support during the most difficult days of our

struggle. We welcome the formation of the commonwealth of former Soviet republics and hope that relations between them and the struggling people of our country will remain firm, in the common endeavour to rid the world of racism and apartheid.

We pledge our solidarity with the people of Cuba and express our unqualified support for their right to determine their destiny without foreign interference.

We join the people of Africa and the world in welcoming developments on our continent towards a multi-party democratic culture. It is our fervent hope that these events will lead to the improvement of the conditions of the mass of the people. Multi-party democracy can only be meaningful within a culture of political tolerance free of intimidation and unwarranted secular or clerical pressures on the electorate.

The right of nations to determine their destiny without foreign interference and domination is enshrined in our policy documents and forms the bedrock of our practice. We therefore stand opposed to brinkmanship, the use of arms and financial domination as an instrument of foreign policy by any state, big or small.

Towards Negotiations

As we ring down the curtain on 1991, we can say with confidence that the general crisis of the apartheid system has never been deeper. During the past year, the democratic movement consolidated its hold on the strategic initiative.

With the successful conclusion of the first sitting of Codesa, the people of South Africa have taken an important step towards a negotiated resolution of their problems. The declaration adopted at Codesa signifies an important step into the transition. However, while the Declaration of Intent constitutes an admission of failure on the part of the regime and the moral superiority of our cause, it remains but a declaration. How decisive this break is will be determined in the struggles of the year ahead.

Precisely because the new phase is about the central question of our struggle - the question of transfer of power - resistance by the white ruling bloc will be more intense. We should expect more showmanship, attempts at disruption, counter-revolutionary violence and systematic propaganda against the liberation movement. Though the struggle will take new forms, it is likely to remain difficult.

Interim Government

Transition will begin in earnest with the installation of an interim government of national unity. Such a body should be sovereign, with effective impartial mechanisms to ensure freedom and fairness.

It is a measure of the strength of the democratic movement and our international supporters that the regime has conceded that it cannot be referee and player in this

process. By acknowledging the need for an interim government, the apartheid rulers have objectively accepted that their regime is illegitimate and incapable of supervising the transition. However, as can be expected from such an illegitimate and illegal regime, where it is forced to retreat, it does so to new lines of defence.

This is what the convoluted constitutional process proposed by the De Klerk administration amounts to. To have a referendum in which the only voice that will count is that of whites is to perpetuate the criminal system of apartheid. To hold an election for a transitional parliament and government is to deliberately complicate and delay what should otherwise be a simple and manageable transition.

The democratic movement demands an interim government of national unity because the regime cannot supervise democratic elections and fairly undertake other tasks of the transition. Therefore, the regime's proposal for a referendum and election before such an interim government is in place pitifully begs the question. It is to state the obvious to assert that there cannot be any democratic elections in our country while the apartheid regime is still in power.

Behind the regime's proposals lies a more sinister scheme: an attempt to legitimise an undemocratic constitution, parliament and regime and prolong the transition by ten years and more. It is a device to keep the essential content of the 1983 Constitution in place for as long as possible. In this period, power will remain essentially in white hands.

The African National Congress and other democratic forces demand a multi-party interim government whose composition should be negotiated in the Convention for a Democratic SA. Its mandate will be to supervise the transition to democracy which should be accomplished in the shortest possible time. Such a government will ensure free political activity, fairness in the treatment of all political organisations and parties and supervise elections for a constituent assembly.

It is therefore crucial that the interim government be sovereign and have a limited time-span. Such a government would have, among others, the following attributes: sovereign control over at least all the armed forces and police, state media, electoral processes, budget and finance; and forums to take decisions on and supervise the management of socio-economic issues during the transition.

Immediate Implementation

Once agreement has been reached regarding interim governmental control over security forces, the electoral process, budget and finance, state media and other areas so identified these decisions should be immediately implemented and preparations started for elections for a constituent assembly. Negotiations over other aspects of government should be facilitated as much as possible,

but they should not delay movement towards a constituent assembly. The implementation mechanisms of Codesa are meant to ensure that legislation drafted by its relevant structures is not vetoed by the tri-cameral parliament or the present regime. This includes relevant amendments to the current constitution. In any case the majority of parties in this parliament and regime will be party to these decisions. The ANC rejects attempts by the National Party regime to grant a minority within broader South African society veto powers over the future of the whole nation, simply because they are white.

We put forward these proposals with the aim of ensuring speedy and balanced movement towards the central objective of negotiations: the drafting of a democratic constitution and the setting up of a democratic government.

Constituent Assembly

The issue of a constituent assembly is therefore central to our approach to the transition. This demand derived from the universally accepted principle that sovereignty in any country resides with the people. A new constitution, based on the broad principles adopted by Codesa, should be drafted by mandated [words indistinct] final product. There cannot be any point in setting up an interim government if this principle has not been adopted.

Given a commitment on the part of all parties to realise the democratic constitutional principles adopted by Codesa, the process of transition can be accomplished within a reasonably short period. The ANC will strive for the setting up of an interim government in the first half of this year, and elections for a constituent assembly to be held by December 1992. Therefore, South Africa could for the first time in its history have a democratic government within the immediate future. We urge all South Africans to strive for the accomplishment of this objective.

Inclusive Process

The process of reshaping South Africa should involve all its people without exception. This by definition includes millions of our people residing in the so-called "independent homelands", relegated to patches of arid land by the designs of the apartheid regime. Therefore, transitional mechanisms and elections into the constituent assembly should be inclusive of South Africa as a whole, of which the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] territories are part.

The transitional process would be incomplete without the input from sectoral formations. The trade union movement, religious bodies, youth and women's organisations, traditional leaders, civic associations, business bodies and others have an important role to play in shaping the future that we all seek to build. While many of these bodies align themselves with one or other political party, it is absolutely necessary that they should

intervene in their own right especially in matters that affect their sectoral interests.

Democratic Values

Betrayed by the British Government and representatives of the white minority in South Africa in 1910, the cause of democracy found a home in the national liberation movement. This movement became and continues to be the custodian of democratic values, principles and practice in our country. The national liberation movement is the upholder of democracy because we recognise its intrinsic value as a basis for good government coupled with justice. The essential premise that has inspired the evolution of the ANC and the rest of the democratic movement is stated unequivocally in the preamble of the Freedom Charter: "... No government can justly claim authority, unless it is based on the will of all the people..."

The ANC, its allies and supporters have fought to preserve these values in the hostile environment of censorship, banning orders, banishment, imprisonment and hangings because of their universally-recognised liberatory substance. These core values such as multi-party democracy, regular elections and protection of citizens' rights are at the centre of our political programme, and they form the basis of the draft constitutional principles, structure of government and bill of rights that we have put forward to society for discussion. We have always embraced the principle of protection of the language and cultural rights of all communities, black and white. There is no basis for any individual or group in our society to fear democracy.

It is these principles which should form the basis of an enabling, all-South African constitution to which all its people will owe allegiance. Consistent with these principles, the ANC espouses many other basic rights which all citizens should enjoy.

Socio-economic Rights

It is our firmly held view that the well-being of a nation should not be something subject to the fickle whims of fortune and personal economic circumstance, but should be the responsibility of the state. In the field of health, this must translate into a national commitment to provide an accessible public health service, focussed on prevention rather than cure. Decisive steps need to be taken against such rampant epidemics as tuberculosis and AIDS. Of equal importance would be an expanding programme to provide decent housing to all citizens.

To the thousands of South Africans who daily trudge the streets in a vain search for employment, the right to work is more than an abstract principle: It is as essential as the right to life. To the millions who struggle every day to make ends meet, the right to a living wage, fair taxation, affordable rents and service charges and low prices are a necessary condition for democracy.

Those who have been the victims of a system designed to perpetuate ignorance and illiteracy know that the right to education requires an equitable, non-racial system of free primary and secondary education and a system of tertiary education with strong backing from the state. Such an educational system should enable all South Africans to fully realise their talents.

The children of our country, in whatever shade of colour they happen to be born, deserve the right to adequate and sensitive care by society. They must develop in an atmosphere free of homelessness, malnutrition, harassment of any kind and violence.

To be meaningful, these and other measures will have to be backed by a programme of affirmative action aimed at empowering those sectors of our society disadvantaged by the system of white domination. Particular attention in this regard would have to be paid to the position of our women compatriots who have been relegated by years of race rule and male-dominated society to the lowest rung of the social ladder. This principle does not have to wait for the distant future for its realisation. It is an absolute necessity now, in the transition and in a democratic society - both within our organisations and in society as a whole.

These are rights which our people will have to struggle for today and even after a democratic government is in office. Their attainment can only uplift the quality of life for the country as a whole. Their realisation will rely on a growing economy in which the wealth of the nation serves the needs of the people as a whole and not a privileged minority.

Mass Involvement

The changes that have been wrought thus far are a result primarily of the actions of the people. Their continued active involvement is not merely politically expedient, but will impact upon the content and legitimacy of the transition.

Openness in the negotiations process is an important prerequisite to the involvement of the people. An informed public is better able to make an informed choice and itself take part in the debates about society's future. The ANC views freedom of the media and its right to unlimited access to information about negotiations as crucial to a democratic culture. As a contribution to the shaping of future media policy and to the approach that should guide the transition, we have issued a draft media charter for discussion and amendment by the public. The role that state-owned media plays in the transition should also receive urgent attention as part of the process towards a democratic information policy.

We believe that all the parties engaged in negotiations ought to ensure accurate briefings to their constituencies. On its part, the ANC will strive at all times to ensure that our members and the public as a whole are informed about and contribute to this crucial national debate.

The fundamental decisions about interim government, constituent assembly, time frames and unqualified implementation of Codesa decisions will not depend solely on the strength of our arguments and eloquence of our presentations. All-round pressure, in particular systematic mass action, will be decisive.

Already, some quarters have obstinately rejected the principles that Codesa stands for. Without mass action, tyrants of all hues will try to stop the inevitable and deny people their right to self-determination. This should be challenged.

Urgent Demands

We mark the 80th anniversary of the ANC - two years after the unbanning of the movement - with some of the cadres who contributed immensely to the current changes still languishing in apartheid jails. The voice of all peace-loving South Africans must be heard demanding the freedom of Mthetheli Mncube, Mzondeleli Nondula and others on death row. Robert McBride and other political prisoners must be released.

In the context of an end to the cold war it is a silly anachronism for the South African Government to insist on the continued imprisonment of Commodore Dieter Gerhardt. He should be released from prison without further delay.

Talk of free political activity will remain empty if there are still political prisoners in apartheid jails; while repressive legislation is still in force; when violence continues and state-owned media remain under the control of one party during negotiations.

Despite the formal repeal of some apartheid legislation, this system is still in place. The squalor in black areas, unequal pensions to our senior citizens, undemocratic local government and other ills of apartheid are some of the grim reminders that apartheid is alive and well. While formally the apartheid Land Acts have been repealed, millions of Africans remain landless, victims of years of dispossession and forced removals.

Only consistent struggle can change this state of affairs.

We call on workers to further strengthen the democratic trade union movement and facilitate the process towards a united trade union federation. Their demands for the rights of farm-workers, a living wage, fair employment practices and comprehensive training programmes form an important part of the struggle for a democratic economy in a democratic society.

The people in the rural areas face the challenge of realising their demand for land and adequate services in action. Traditional leaders have an important role to play in these struggles as part of the people.

It is also necessary for structures involved on the education front to exert pressure for the abolition of all racist measures. Needless to say, however, the overriding aim should be to create better conditions in which intensive

learning can take place, rather than to disrupt the educational process. We join democratic students' and teachers' organisations and parents in calling for a massive return to school. If the aim of the racists is to keep us ignorant and under-qualified, as the disastrous matric results have shown, we should challenge this by improving our performance even within this limited environment. At the same time, we must broaden the space for the introduction of democratic, non-racial and equal education for all.

1991 saw greater self-assertiveness on the part of South African women. Within the ANC and in broader society the voice of women is loud and clear. But their aspirations will be realised only at the instance of a stronger organisation, deliberate education of society as a whole and greater unity in action around gender issues.

We salute the ANC Youth League for its successful relaunch more than 30 years after its banning by the regime. The militancy that the young lions so heroically demonstrated in the years of repression is required today as we enter this decisive phase of struggle. They are expected, more than ever before, to master new forms of struggle - with the agility that has earned them a special place in our history - and ensure that democracy is attained in the shortest possible time. As part of this endeavour, it is necessary to unite various youth formations around issues that affect the youth most, including education, recreation, crime and drug abuse.

The challenge to confront the ills of apartheid, secure peace among the people and speed up the realisation of a democratic and prosperous society affects these and all other sectors of our people - religious, business, professional and otherwise.

National Question

It is a challenge which faces all communities in whatever category apartheid sought to place us. It is a challenge that the coloured and Indian communities so ably met in the fight against the tri-cameral constitution, local management structures, gutter education and so on. Today, as we move towards the accomplishment of the dreams of all oppressed South Africans, it is crucial that we redouble our efforts against all manifestations of apartheid. The place of all who cherish peace and democratic rights is in the front ranks of struggle: in the ANC and other democratic mass formations.

On this our 80th anniversary, the ANC once again extends a hand of friendship to those of our white compatriots who have been made to doubt their place and role in the democratic process now unfolding. It is time for them to realise that their interests can only be served by the attainment of lasting peace and stability. We address our call particularly to those sectors of the Afrikaner community such as farmers and workers who historically have been misled only to be dumped by self-seeking politicians for a cause that has no future:

The time to take a decisive step into the fold of the broader South African society and insure their future in democracy is now.

The achievements of various sports codes in forging unity and introducing development programmes has deservedly opened the door to acceptance in international sport. This is a victory not only of the anti-apartheid struggle, but for all South Africans. We join all other South Africans in wishing the national teams at the coming world events the best, and demand that public resources should be made available without discrimination for the programmes that non-racial sport-bodies are undertaking. Through such programmes, the sporting fraternity can ensure that, within a short space of time, teams representing South Africa will be truly national - reflecting the best sporting talent of society as a whole.

Along with these developments, the issue of a national flag, anthem and symbols has naturally aroused passionate public debate. At the centre of this debate is the search by all South Africa for an apartheid-free identity, a process which those who profess a rejection of this system should support. Naturally, it is an issue which should be handled with the greatest sensitivity and on the basis of the widest possible consultation. But, like the broader transitional process, it is an issue that can no longer be avoided. The initiative taken by NOCSA [National Olympic Committee of South Africa] in this regard needs to be commended.

National Liberation Contest

The most eloquent expression of mass involvement in the transition will be the exercise of people's sovereignty in elections for a constituent assembly. Contrary to what representatives of the regime want us to believe, this will be a contest not simply among individual political organisations for political office. In the final analysis, the issues such an election will address will make it a decisive contest between apartheid and democracy, between white domination and national liberation.

Victory for the liberation movement in such elections cannot be taken for granted. It depends on what we do to transform support and sympathy for the democratic cause into organisational strength and a vote for democracy.

In gearing ourselves for this decisive contest, we need to further transform the ANC into a well-oiled machine in constant touch with the mass of the people. An ANC branch which educates its members in the policies of the movement and recruits in large numbers is fulfilling only part of the overall purpose. The quality of our structures should also be felt in their concern for and involvement in the day-to-day problems of our people. It should be seen in their leadership of the people in struggle.

The alliance of the ANC with the SACP [South African Communist Party] and Cosatu must be a living reality on the ground. Our links with mass democratic structures should find expression in joint actions around agreed

programmes. The vibrancy of the broad patriotic front should come not only through pronouncements in the media, but in day-to-day struggle. ANC members should be seen to promote peace and political tolerance in the communities.

Security Forces

As we enter the transition, the issue of effective security for this process and the future democratic order stands out in even bolder relief. On this question hinges the very survival of the whole negotiations process. The African National Congress calls for effective control of all security forces by an interim government of national unity precisely because we want the negotiations to succeed.

Ultimately, the forces which will secure democracy will themselves have to be representative of all of the Africans from the lowest to the highest rank. The new defence and police forces of a democratic South Africa should be professional bodies paying unquestioned allegiance to the constitution that elected representatives of the people will have drawn up. They will emerge in earnest under the new democratic government, and they will include the contingents found in Umkhonto we Sizwe, APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army], Azanla [Azanian Liberation Army], the SADF [South African Defense Force], the SAP [South African Police], Bantustan armies and police units and other forces in existence today.

This process should naturally begin under an interim government, and should include the placing of all personnel and armaments under the control of competent structures of this government.

The ANC once more calls on our compatriots in the SADF and South African Police to make a break with the past of confrontation and conflict. Our country has entered a period of reconciliation and it requires the contribution of all of them to reach the goal of lasting peace and prosperity. They have an important role to play in defending and promoting the peace process. We call on them to: expose the murderers! Defend the people! Join the march to democracy! They have nothing to fear in the future as long as they play their role today to realise this democratic future.

Year of Democratic Elections

We enter the ninth decade of the ANC full of confidence that the ideals which inspired its formation are about to be realised. On this day, the words of one of the founders of the ANC, that illustrious leader of the South African people, Pixley Ka Izaka Seme, ring truer than ever before. Enjoining people to struggle, in 1906, Seme said: "The brighter day is rising upon Africa..."

It is neither the goodwill of the apartheid government nor the magnanimity of its leadership - but the people in active struggle - who will indeed usher in this brighter day to our land. In recognition of the urgency and centrality of the people's demand for the vote, the

National Executive Committee of the African National Congress declares 1992 the year of democratic elections for a constituent assembly.

We call on all our people and anti-apartheid forces the world over to act together to make this demand a reality.

The time is now!

Peace, freedom and the vote!

Amandla! [Zulu word for "power"] Matla! [SeSotho word for "power"].

Former IFP Member Alleges Aid From SADF

MB1001133392 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1100 GMT 10 Jan 92

[Text] A former Central Committee member of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mr. Mbongeni Khumalo, says Inkatha has systematically and consciously received massive financial assistance, as well as military and academic training from the SADF [South African Defense Force].

Mr. Khumalo, who resigned as the acting national organizer of the Inkatha Youth Brigade in March last year, alleged at a news conference today that Inkatha did not exist as an organization, but was controlled by the security forces. He said he decided to go public with the information of links between the SADF and Inkatha as a result of an attack on the ILANGA newspaper after his resignation, branding him as an ANC [African National Congress] agent, paid to leak information to newspapers.

Mr Khumalo, among other things, alleged that an attack on ANC members in Wesselton near Ermelo in August 1990, happened when Inkatha hit squads trained by the SADF were in Ermelo.

Buthelezi Dismisses Allegations

MB1001174292 Johannesburg SABA in English
1726 GMT 10 Jan 92

[By Enrico Kemp]

[Text] Cape Town Jan 10 SABA—The leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has dismissed allegations of collaboration between his party and the SA [South African] Defence Force [SADF] and accused the editor and staff of THE WEEKLY MAIL of being "loyal sycophants" and propagandists of the African National Congress (ANC).

Mr Buthelezi, who accompanied the Zulu king to a meeting with President F.W. de Klerk on Friday, was asked at a news conference after the discussions to comment on disclosures in WEEKLY MAIL by a former Inkatha Central Committee member, Mbongeni Khumalo, that Inkatha leaders and members had received training from SADF Military Intelligence in a bid to counter the ANC.

Mr Buthelezi—stating he did not "wish to waste my breath in replying to this nonsense"—made various allegations about Mr Khumalo and added:

"He is bitter because he tried to get a job in my department, the department of the chief minister, but was not successful."

Chief Buthelezi described allegations that IFP personnel had received training from the SADF as "a blatant lie".

However, he acknowledged that "some young people" received training in VIP protection after disclosures of an alleged ANC plot to assassinate him (Chief Buthelezi).

"These people were later re-integrated into the kwaZulu Police," he told reporters.

Chief Buthelezi said allegations of complicity between Inkatha and the security forces were deliberately put out before major events to discredit him and the IFP.

"It is grossly irresponsible for people to continue wasting their time and throwing this muck at me," he said.

President de Klerk said he did not "know anything" about the latest WEEKLY MAIL disclosures.

He said he had dealt fully with secret funding and operations at his post-Inkathagate news conference in July last year and said legislation relating to the restructuring of secret funding would be introduced.

"Many of these issues relate to a different time and different circumstances, when we had to fight terrorism. But we have now adopted to the new circumstances and we have nothing to hide," Mr de Klerk said.

Newspaper Reports Allegations

MB1001181192 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 10-16 Jan 92 p 1

[Report by Eddie Koch and Drew Forrest]

[Text] Mbongeni Khumalo, once the powerful boss of Inkatha's Youth Brigade and an Inkatha Central Committee member, quit the organisation because he believed that it had become a vehicle for instigating violence against fellow blacks.

He was a highly regarded member, introduced to Inkatha members at rallies by Mangosuthu Buthelezi himself. Khumalo is the most senior Inkatha official to break ranks and reveal the inside manoeuvrings in the Ulundi organisation.

In today's Weekly Mail he makes five key points [preceding sentence published in italics]:

1. Transvaal Inkatha leaders, including Themba Khoza, received training from [South African Defence Force];

SADF] Military Intelligence shortly before Inkatha's bloody push on to the Reef which sparked the violence of 1990.

2. A kwaZulu police officer, trained in guerrilla warfare and privy to Inkatha Central Committee meetings, led a gruesome attack on an ANC [African National Congress] funeral in Wessellon. He was released, and the AK-47s used in the attack were returned to Ulundi.

3. Inkatha's top leadership received systematic secret instruction from Military Intelligence over two years in a bid to strengthen the organisation against the ANC. Inkatha leaders were ordered to attend by Buthelezi, on pain of dismissal.

4. The Defence Force and Inkatha collaborated in numerous anti-Mass Democratic Movement pamphlet blitzes in Natal townships, with the knowledge of Inkatha chiefs. Pamphlets were drawn up and printed by the SADF, then collected and distributed by Inkatha members.

5. Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi must have been aware of the massive and long-standing support given by both the South African Police and the SADF to Inkatha. Even less senior officials knew of these contacts.

South African Press Review for 10 Jan

MB1001123992

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Differences in ANC, Government Constitutional Proposals—"While both sides agree that the present racially structured constitution which excludes blacks must go, close scrutiny reveals two key points of difference between the ANC [African National Congress] and National Party [NP] proposals," notes Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 10 January in a page 8 editorial. The ANC's interim government "would be a contingency measure to provide for neutral governance until a new constitution was drafted by a popularly elected constituent assembly. Its lifespan would be measured in months, whereas the NP's transitional government would be based on a temporary constitution and Parliament." Its duration would be measured in years. "The ANC has already rejected Mr De Klerk's proposals as a device to 'deliberately complicate and delay a simple and manageable transition'. We believe it is wiser to suspend judgment until January 24 when Mr De Klerk is likely to give a detailed exposition of what he has so far only sketched in the broadest of strokes. The challenge to the smaller parties at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] will be to act as bridge-makers by finding and developing points of commonality between the ANC and NP proposals."

BUSINESS DAY

ANC Unlikely To Have Say in 1992 Budget—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 10 January in a page 6 editorial says Nelson Mandela's call for an interim government by mid-1992, and a say in the Budget, "should be seen against the euphoric mood at the ANC's 80th birthday bash at the [Orange] Free State Stadium. He is likely to be disappointed. For this fiscal year, the National Party is still in power and regardless of opinions about its legitimacy, the Budget in March will reflect its policies. Last year, these showed a pronounced shift towards social spending and attempts to make good past wrongs against the disadvantaged communities. And there is every reason to expect that this trend will persist, even at the risk of further upsetting right-wing white voters."

PAC Military Wing 'Out on a Limb'—"The PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and its military wing, APLA [African People's Liberation Army], are out on a limb following the decision by left-wing organisations, including the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (CAST) and the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region of the SA [South African] Communist Party, to come out publicly against the killing of policemen." "This is an encouraging development at the start of a year which is bound to bring profound political change."

THE WEEKLY MAIL

All Parties Urged To Join Codesa—Steven Friedman writes in his "Worm's Eye" column on page 12 of Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 10-16 January, that "despite flashes of drama at Codesa, the real divide in our politics may already be between those who are negotiating and those who aren't." "Parties who have been warring for decades don't slip easily into co-operation—particularly when vital parts of their followings don't want it. But, while neither side relishes co-operation, it may be the only option for leaders who have decided they are doomed to rule together. The more they delay, the more likely does it become that joint government would collapse as the parties jockey for advantage—or that its members will find that it faces such severe resistance that it can be imposed by force alone."

CAPE TIMES

Resistance To White-Only Conscription—"Whites-only conscription in a multi-racial country is perhaps the most glaring anomaly in post-apartheid South Africa," declares a page 8 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 8 January. "Whatever the turnout in the current round of call-ups, it seems that resistance to the draft is building up among conservative whites, while objections on the liberal flank have hardly abated."

*** Differences Over White Super-Union Discussed**

92AF0225E Pretoria DIE PATRIOT in Afrikaans
15 Nov 91 p 14

[Article by Jannie Hennop: "Sharp Differences Over Super-Union"; first paragraph is DIE PATRIOT introduction]

[Text] There are sharp differences over the question of a white super-union between the two largest white labor unions—the Mine Workers Union (MWU) and the Iron, Steel, and Allied Industries Union. The battle has been waged vehemently in the media over the past few weeks. DIE PATRIOT examines the struggle in greater detail following statements by both unions.

The major struggle began when the MWU announced that it would commit itself to achieving a white super-union. The MWU has also made rapid progress towards this goal by recruiting members across a wide front.

Subsequently, the issue of a white super-union spilled over into the news media. An MWU spokesman made it clear to DIE PATRIOT that the union does not normally react to statements by other unions, but that it was forced to do so by the recent comments by Iron and Steel director Mr. Nic Cilliers.

In its statement, Iron and Steel says that the MWU wants to manipulate white workers in order to bring down the government.

Iron and Steel says in its statement that a white super-union is not feasible and that the MWU regards white workers as pawns that can be moved around a chess board.

In its statement, Iron and Steel also quotes a newspaper report noting that "no one, not even CP [Conservative Party] members of parliament, has spelled out the struggle and dilemma of the white worker as intensely, specifically, and consistently over the years as Nic Cilliers has."

According to reports, Mr. Cilliers also said during a recent press conference that he is concerned because only one party, the CP, attended the pilot gathering of the white super-union. According to the report, he said that if the right wing supports this type of labor union, then other right-wing parties should have been present as well.

However, the Mine Workers Union says that Mr. Cilliers' "bitterness" must be seen against the background of the recent split in his union (Iron and Steel), as well as the numerous resignations and other setbacks suffered by Iron and Steel under his leadership.

In its statement, the MWU says that of Iron and Steel's 22 full-time offices, only seven remain open today. "The split in Iron and Steel has taken place over the past three months, as senior officials, led by Mr. Wes Gavin, the former labor relations director of Iron and Steel, have defected to the Mine Workers Union.

"The main reason for their resignation is that Mr. Cilliers does not support unity and that he has fought the effort to create a white super-union tooth and nail. Although Mr. Cilliers' bitterness is understandable, it appears that the bitter end of which he speaks has already come for him.

"Perhaps Mr. Cilliers realizes this and this is the reason that he has started a consulting firm, with which he, as a labor leader, offers seminars for management, among others."

An MWU spokesman says that the labor union is not a front organization for the CP as is alleged, because the MWU has members from all parties.

"However, the CP and the MWU are waging the same battle, and for that reason we have good ties with each other and with other organizations. Thus, we regard Mr. Cilliers' denigration of CP members of parliament as inappropriate and misplaced."

The statement notes further that white labor unity is not an MWU dream, but rather the result of a consolidation process that has already taken place in the political domain, for example.

"In light of the current circumstances in this country—the small number of whites and the inefficient white labor union structure—the advent of white unity is a necessity."

The MWU also denies charges that it is forcing people to join it. The MWU says that this is pure nonsense and an overdramatized misrepresentation.

The last blow comes from the MWU. "Neither Mr. Cilliers nor anyone else can fight against the inevitability of a white super-union. One proof of this is the growth of the MWU over the past year. However, the MWU is the union that is opening more and more offices, not closing offices."

Angola

UNITA President Savimbi Addresses Nation

MB0401164592 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 4 Jan 92

["Address to the Nation" by Jonas Savimbi, president of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Angolan women and men, dear compatriots:

We have entered 1992. We know what 1991 represents for us. If there is anything more precious for us in 1992, peace is one of them. Peace has been achieved as a result of many sacrifices, and the resolve and courage of those who fought in the struggle for the liberation of the fatherland. Peace was the only gift that the soldiers of both sides could give to the Angolan people in 1991. Peace is no longer a mere word, but a fact of life.

War was waged in Angola because the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] believed that there were noble principles at stake—our freedom, freedom of expression, freedom of worship, right of ownership, and the right to feel free in our own fatherland. The war was waged because the Cubans and Russians had dominated our fatherland. The war was waged because it was necessary to uphold the historical values of this great fatherland of Ginga, Equiqui, Mutuiwaquevela, Mutiaba, and Mandume.

We have always believed that those who invade Angola would be forced to return in defeat wherever they come from. The war was not waged as if it were a children's game. The war was waged because the very fabric of the Angolan nation was at stake. If there were people who could not take part in this war it was not their fault. Yet, it would be inconsiderate of them if they fail to accept that peace is today a reality thanks to that courage and resolve, as well as one's continual determination in the face of vicissitudes.

The Christmas of 1991 was marked in peace after 16 years of independence. We have begun a new year in peace, and UNITA's and the government's armed forces have shown to the Angolan people and the world that they can establish peace. A very dear price has been paid for peace in terms of human lives, property, and time.

It has been a long march lasting 16 years. It has been 16 years of mistrust, hatred, resentment, and wounds which are still bleeding. Yet, internal forces have created a momentum of their own which has led the government of the People's Republic of Angola [RPA] and UNITA to establish an honorable peace. Nevertheless, a high price has been paid.

Each one of us might say that he or she had better motives to fight in the war. History, however, will not be unfair. The Cubans and the Russians were the invaders

of Angola. It was because of that invasion that Angolan patriots took up arms. It was also because of that invasion that powers like the United States and South Africa intervened in this war. Had it not been for that invasion, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] could not have formed the government and remained in power for 16 years.

When internal and foreign forces joined hands it was no longer possible for the RPA Government to remain in power. It is absurd to continue to claim that it was due to foreign invasion that the RPA Government had to ask for Cuban assistance. We all know that even before the South Africans and the U.S. Government had decided to help UNITA the Cubans were already had a say in our country. In view of the prevailing peace in Angola, we are proud and honored to state that the Cubans were the ones who caused the loss of human lives and property. The fact is that with the Cubans out of Angola things have become easier.

I would like to reiterate, though, that we have paid dearly for peace. We know that among the ranks of UNITA and the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] are those who paid the highest price.

When we signed the cease-fire accords in May 1991, UNITA and its Armed Forces had far better military resources than the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA], and we had foreseen a completely different outcome on the battle front by the end of 1991 had UNITA continued fighting. We, however, as patriots and out of our own volition agreed to talk to the RPA Government on an equal footing. Likewise, it was on an equal footing that we signed the Bicesse accords on 31 May 1991.

UNITA was one of the main peacemakers. Peace in Angola is a gift in terms of our own lives, of blood that has been shed, and of our beloved comrades who have fallen throughout Angola.

We would also like to believe that the solemn pledge made before Angolans and international opinion will be scrupulously kept. As for UNITA, we are ready to fulfill our commitments. We would like the RPA Government to make the same commitment so that Angolans and international opinion may believe us.

There are still those who claim to have received reports from unknown sources that there is still war between UNITA and the RPA Government. Obviously, those gentlemen lack information. Had there been further clashes between the RPA and UNITA forces, those gentlemen would be the last to learn of any skirmishes or clashes, in that the latter would create alarm and disgrace throughout the country and beyond our borders.

As we begin a new year, I believe as a soldier and patriot that it is my duty to say that there will never be war again. Nobody can wage war again. The guns have been silenced once and for all. It has been a spectacular achievement in the history of our country. Every

Angolan will be proud to note the courage of those who fought in this war, but who have permitted the guns to be silenced out of patriotism.

As I address the nation, I would like to remind you that though it was like a drop in the ocean, the soccer match that took place in Huambo on 26 December 1991 was a fraternal gesture of those who had been fighting each other months before. They have proved to all Angolans that peace is here to stay.

There are still eight months to go, but it is important that during this period we avoid small obstacles. The RPA Government should rule openly in all that concerns the Bicesse accords. The government has the means at its disposal to run the country, and can torpedo the Bicesse principles, as well as manipulate to its advantage the terms of the Bicesse accords.

We have just urged the RPA Government to rule openly so that the people may have political power in their hands, and be the only ones to choose the political system and the government of their choice, as well as the type of Angola they would like to have in the future.

Regrettably, we often hear government stating that UNITA has not been facilitating the extension of central administration to districts and communes. In my last meeting with the president of the RPA, I asked the president of the Republic to inform the Angolan people and the skeptics that both government and UNITA have contributed a great deal toward not only the strengthening of the Bicesse process, but also the fulfillment of our commitments.

For what I know, state administration has been extended to the most relevant districts and communes. There are only a few areas to be covered by the state administration. UNITA is willing to cooperate with government so that state administration can be extended to areas previously administered by UNITA. In line with what has been agreed at the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM], however, the RPA Government should consult UNITA when appointing administrators to those areas because there is a wide gap between us in view of the different ways in which affairs were run in the past 16 years. This situation is quite easy to understand because we administered a small area and, therefore, were able to use material and human resources in order to have a better administrative system, better schools, better clinics and hospitals, and better agricultural projects. It would be unfair for Angolans if the extension of state administration meant a return to the mismanagement that we have seen in various areas of state administration.

Nevertheless, UNITA wishes to cooperate with government so that our party can be registered as soon as possible because we want to comply with this formality, the aim being to render the peace process viable since it will lead our country to democracy.

There is a problem that must be dealt with serenely, reasonably, and carefully. Regarding the creation of the Angolan Armed Forces, we have seen government attempts at bribing FALA officers and soldiers who refuse to be integrated. It was for the same reason that the 1989 integration plans failed.

What we want is the creation of an Angolan Army. We do not want UNITA forces to be seconded to government forces because this is a nonstarter. I have advised my officers and soldiers, who have fought under my command for 16 years, not to accept bribes. If the RPA Government has the financial and other material resources to be provided to the UNITA personnel assigned to the Angolan Armed Forces, it would be fair that government should follow suit regarding the CCPM and all bodies of this commission, instead of solely dealing with the military aspect of the situation. I believe that those men who have served under the flag of UNITA will not be deceived.

Likewise, I would like to draw the attention of Portuguese, American, French, and Soviet observers and instructors not to let the vain attempts at bribing our soldiers go unchecked. UNITA soldiers will not allow themselves to be bribed. They have fought, died, and endured hardships for 16 years because their goal was to liberate the fatherland. We have not promised salaries, houses, automobiles, and the works to our soldiers.

We want the whole process to continue. It is important that the creation of the Angolan Armed Forces should be carried out in openly lest we interpret those gestures of goodwill as an attempt at integrating our forces.

UNITA has stated time and again that it intends to make all efforts aimed at strengthening the CCPM's role because that commission is irreplaceable. The CCPM is the outcome of complex and protracted negotiations, and has a unique position in the Angolan scene. UNITA will do its best to strengthen, protect and uphold the principles governing the CCPM.

There have been varied interpretations as to whether UNITA accepts the multiparty meeting. At our last meeting with the president of the RPA we spoke of the president of the Republic's right to consult all of the country's political forces. If the latter had formed an alliance, then it would be fair that the president of the Republic should meet them as such. If there had been various alliances, then the president of the Republic should meet them accordingly.

We have stated that we will continue to meet the RPA Government within the framework of the CCPM where we would convey firmly and openly our views on the Electoral Law, the electoral registration, and other issues relating to the democratization of our society. It would be bad if the multiparty meeting were to lead into a sovereign conference as demanded by some of the emerging parties, which, in their search for a political platform, would seek to downgrade the status of the CCPM, and torpedo the Bicesse accords. That would be

a tragic situation because the CCPM is the only body that holds all the mechanisms to maintain peace and keep soldiers confined to assembly points, and which can ensure the creation of an Angolan Army. The CCPM is the only body which enjoys international backing in order to continue the peace process which is the basis for the creation of democracy in our country.

Likewise, we would not like the government to use the administration to manipulate the process. Over the past seven months, the government and UNITA have proven that we can fulfill our word of honor, but now as we approach election time, the government should resist attempts to manipulate public opinion through its administrative powers, and through corruption. The injection of goods into certain areas has become completely ridiculous. You see goods like bicycles, motorcycles, and gifts that corrupt men and hurt our conscience. Instead, government should concentrate on working to satisfy the real needs of men and women who have not had access to those goods for the last 16 years.

Nothing, absolutely nothing, should be done to delay elections. The RPA president has solemnly stated on three occasions that free, fair, and internationally supervised elections would be held in the second half of September 1992. They have proposed 25, 26, and 27 September as election dates. So, nothing, absolutely nothing, should be done to prevent the completion of the ongoing process by September 1992.

It is a good thing—in fact it is a calming thought—that UNITA is not the only one that thinks it will win the elections. The government, or the MPLA, also thinks it can. No distinction has been made between the MPLA and the government yet. Even emergent parties believe they will win the elections. It is pleasing and encouraging that we should all embark on this course thinking we will be the victors. In this way, no one will have any personal reasons to try to delay D-day. To the Angolan people, D-day is their first opportunity to elect their leaders, and to freely decide their own future.

I also believe that the Angolan people are ready of endure more hardship, shortages, some injustices, and resist attempts to corrupt them over the next eight months. I wish, however, to express my profound belief that if the government, for any reason whatever, came up with another proposal to postpone the September 1992 elections, what the government describes as our people would neither tolerate further hardship nor accept other attempts at bribery. We, who have also signed the Bicesse Accords, would perhaps find it very difficult to contain our people. The government may speak about our people, but I believe it does not know all the people. We are not claiming to know all the people either. Nonetheless, there are many people the government knows nothing about. The people will be ready to put up with more hardship between now and September 1992 as long as the election date is not manipulated.

The government is also served by the Ministry of State Security [Minse]. Undoubtedly, a number of FAPLA soldiers and Minse's special forces have been inserted into what should have simply been a police force to maintain law and order. All this allows the police to adopt an aggressive behavior today. The police force is not maintaining order. Instead, it is on the path of aggression and provocation, like the repressive police of a one-party system.

Minse should be banned. In any event, the Angolan people have been alerted to react to Minse's arbitrary behavior. It is the Minse fanatics who toss grenades, shoot, and intimidate people. For that reason, it is important for the government to do what it can to prevent other Minse agents joining the police. This must be done urgently. Let the UNITA personnel who should be part of the police command and other structures join the police force now. We are ready to fulfill our undertakings. Likewise, we urge the government to do the same.

Elections will not be won through Minse. Minse will lead to electoral defeat because it has acted in a brutal, thoughtless, and irresponsible manner.

Turning to the issue of political prisoners, we hear certain parties claiming to have supporters detained in Jamba. We believe that RPA Government and UNITA are the interested sides in the prisoner release process. Nobody else has prisoners in Jamba. They were all abroad, so how could they have men fighting in Angola that UNITA could capture? Everybody wants to come to Jamba, most probably to look at the cradle of the resistance, where the people acquired their willpower, and where women and men tenaciously fought as one against Sukhoi's, MiG's, and even against despair. It was in Jamba where men and women learned to believe in themselves.

If the intention of those parties is to visit Jamba, then Jamba is open to all. Let them come, but if they are scared let them be accompanied by international organization representatives. It is, however, quite ridiculous for them to claim that their agents are being held in detention in Jamba.

It was for the same reason that the International Committee of the Red Cross, ICRC, promptly condemned the Angola National Liberation Front, FNLA, and rejected its chief's claims that FNLA prisoners were being held here.

I want to believe that the prisoner release process has made some progress. It has, however, not advanced in a satisfactory manner because the RPA Government has never wanted to state how many prisoners it captured during the 16-year-old war. We spoke of 3,000 prisoners, and produced an equal number of persons, but how many prisoners did the RPA Government take? Did the government only take 750 prisoners in 16 years? The government, which captured soldiers and arrested sympathizers in every province, which executed UNITA

supporters simply because they supported UNITA—did that same government only take 750 prisoners?

This is a serious problem that will lead to the discovery in September 1992 that thousands upon thousands of Angolan people have been executed. We are not in the least moved by upbeat tunes which say certain parties would like to see all Angolans spend the first day of 1992 as a family. We would also like that, but are those who have brought up the issue aware of how many prisoners the Luanda regime has taken? Do they know how many the regime has freed? The crucial issue today is that jails must be opened, and the RPA Government as well as UNITA must make themselves completely open for consultation and investigation by impartial observers.

Those who lack a political cause and are making the prisoner release issue their big cause are wasting their time. There are no prisoners here in Jamba. Nonetheless, if they want to come they can do so. Even during the soccer match in Huambo,—a match which left me with very fond memories—one of the players who played for the Jamba team was a patriot who had been a People's Air Force of Angola Air Defense, FAPA-DAA, pilot. He said things in Huambo that were not made public because of press and television censorship.

A man is no prisoner who goes to Huambo, participates in a soccer match, and returns to Jamba.

We want a new, democratic, and responsible Angola. We also an Angola that completely manages the public [word indistinct] the Angola of tomorrow must never have an Assembly whose deputies have been appointed by a party. This is going to cause enormous problems because every amendment to the current Constitution, which is the MPLA-PT constitution, cannot hide the fact that those laws were approved and promulgated by an assembly that is no more than a projection of another side of a one-party system. We want an Angola whose economy serves and favors all Angolan people. UNITA is wholly against the prefinancing process. What does this mean?

It means that the RPA Government is receiving money here and there for the sale of oil that will only be sucked out of the soil in another two, three, or four years. We have all been rid of the MPLA-PT's debt with the USSR. The USSR has disappeared and Russia has taken its place. In legal terms, I believe that Angola is no longer in debt to the Soviet Union. However, prefinancing is set to continue. The MPLA-PT is mortgaging the country's unexploited wealth. This will force the government that will emerge from free and fair elections to have to deal with a debt that is not of its making. We condemn that practice. The RPA Government can no longer use the excuse that it resorted to prefinancing schemes because it did not have access to international organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF. Today, the RPA Government has access to those organizations. In fact, it has had access to them for several years. It should contract loans, because those responsible organizations

would never agree to give money and technical assistance for things other than projects to benefit the population and to encourage Angola's social and economic development [sentence as heard].

We continue to insist that one of the most serious problems facing tomorrow's Angola will be improvement of Angolan cadres. We have been criticized here and there because some thought we would like to drop international assistance in favor of Angolan personnel. Nonetheless, we think this is exactly the crux of the matter. The Angolan people must come first. We must take care of them first.

Why did the RPA Government prepare cadres if it is not willing to nurture and encourage them? Yes, there are certain areas where we will need international assistance and foreign investment. First, though, we would like to improve the Angolan cadres and encourage the Angolan entrepreneurial class. Then, we will accept cooperation.

Our country is not going to become a so-called internationalist country again. It is not going to be again an internationalist country for the Soviets, Cubans, Czechoslovakians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and the former GDR. We want our country to enjoy cooperation on the basis of mutual benefits, but the Angolan people must come first in their own land.

Portugal will play an important role: It knows Angola well, the rehabilitation of the administrative system will require Portuguese cooperation, and we believe that infrastructural rehabilitation must come first. Furthermore, Portugal shares the same language and cultural base with us. Thus, Portugal will be welcome and it will be given preference in certain instances. Portugal must, however, agree to treat the RPA Government and UNITA as equals as of now. It is our belief that the third force will not make way. The final dispute will be between the MPLA and UNITA. Should Portugal continue to give preference to those accords signed before, Portugal will be harming itself because we believe UNITA will win the September elections.

We want that the Angolan people learn to look at Africa. We are African, belong to this continent, and everything that concerns Africa concerns us too. Africa has been having serious problems, but it is our continent. We must share its joys, frustrations, and hopes. For a long time, the MPLA-PT leadership encouraged people to look beyond Africa. We, in UNITA, are not against Brazil. Some of us were even trained by Brazilians. Nevertheless, a UNITA government could never tolerate Brazilian domination in Angola.

We have watched the People's Television of Angola show Brazilian soap operas for days on end. They limit the thinking ability of Angolan people. The Angolan people should protect themselves from such television.

First, in general terms, UNITA believes that Portuguese-Brazilian language accords should not be signed until all Portuguese-speaking African countries not yet ruled by

democratic regimes have had their people freely elect their leaders and systems of government.

To look to Africa is to feel like an African. If you feel you are an African, it does not mean that you are against somebody. It means you support what you are. First, we are Angolans. Second, we are Africans. Our relationship with people from other countries comes next in line. Angola should also look after its relations with southern and central Africa. Ours is a privileged country. It has huge material resources. We will first work for the Angolan people, but our communication routes can also serve other southern and central African countries.

Tomorrow's Angola must accept that all Angolans are equal. There are many Angolans who fear UNITA because they think they will lose their privileges. Those who feel that way are the ones who have behaved like exploiters and who have taken advantage of the war and the people's suffering for their own exaggerated benefits. We want all Angolans to be equal, both before the law and socially. We want an end to this nonexistent, but enforced, law whereby you have first, second, third, and fourth class Angolans. Those Angolans who return from Zaire and Zambia are the equals of those Angolans who did not leave. The difference that UNITA neither understands nor will ever understand is that there should be doubts about those Angolans who come back from Zaire and Zambia, but there are no such doubts concerning those Angolans who return from Portugal.

In a new Angola, the principal laws can only come out of an elected national assembly. Only legal decrees can be issued by the Council of Ministers. This is because we believe that the national assembly is the supreme sovereign organ and, as such, it must guide the newborn nation in its first steps. We reject the idea that a group should arbitrarily guide us and that is exactly what we have been witnessing so far.

In September 1992, UNITA will ask the people for an absolute majority in Parliament in order to facilitate and improve decision-making. Coalitions only weaken a government. Here and there you see attempts to paralyze the government. Our country has suffered so much that there is the need to make decisions fast.

We want a strong executive. We want an independent assembly and judiciary. We also want an independent press. The news media must completely free themselves from government patronage so they can criticize, relay the people's opinions and, in the final analysis, allow the professional newsman to be the judge of what he writes.

In this address to the nation, I would like to pay a vibrant homage to FALA and FAPLA soldiers. Yes, there have been differences in the concept, structure, and aims of those two armed forces so far. They were, however, the ones who brought peace. That is why we insist that their votes will be indispensable. It would be ungrateful not to give the right to vote to those who have fought for their own principles, but who have agreed to shake hands and have not yet committed any major cease-fire violation. It

would also be ungrateful if we deny to those who gave us peace the right to vote in the first free and democratic elections to be held in the country.

Yes, there are problems afflicting the FAPLA forces. They have been demanding the payment of their salaries. I think they have a right to do so because they are due to be demobilized. Who will pay arrears of two and three years in their salaries if the MPLA does not win the elections? In view of that, we hereby express our solidarity with our comrades in arms. This is the time when they must demand to be paid their due.

FALA soldiers were trained in a different manner. They have never fought for salaries and other means. They have always fought because of and for the nation.

I would also like to send a message to UNITA's Armed Forces. They should uphold discipline and moderation in their actions. They should uphold the unity which has become a legend and has led us to where we are today.

The party leadership has assured its responsibilities. If there are certain assembly points where the festive season has not yet been felt, like in Cazombo, Chicala, and Mavinga, it is only due to logistical problems. Other assembly points have already received supplies, and the leadership is committed to fulfill that duty like we did during the long years of war.

UNITA soldiers should strictly adhere to the statutes governing the Armed Forces.

There will be a critical problem, namely the demobilization of forces. UNITA troops should not be excessively worried about this issue because the demobilization of FALA troops is the sole responsibility of our leadership. Obviously, we will cooperate with international organizations. UNITA's leadership will not, however, accept that those who have fought with us will leave for their villages with a hoe and a bag of beans to engage in agricultural production without further assistance. As a soldier and your supreme commander, and as a man who have fought with you in Lomba, Cazombo, (Luakuta), and Cunene, I would like to assure you that your demobilization will be handled by UNITA and its leadership. We will take your conditions into account and will not let you leave without a destination. You have fought a major war, and liberated the fatherland. You deserve our care and our love.

We want a sense of forgiveness throughout Angola. There are no good wars, and whenever there are wars, disregard for human rights is bound to happen.

The war waged by the United States against Japan, by Germany against France, by England against the Germans, that is, war everywhere has been marked by human rights violations. The war in Angola would have been an exception if those types of errors had not been made. However, I would like to say that there has never been an Army which has fought and had a frontline, and a rear where there were saboteurs, subversive elements

and enemy agents. When that happened in any part of the world, the first thing to be done was to take care of the rear in order to strengthen the frontline.

To look after the maimed, widows, and orphans is not charity work, but a sacred duty of any responsible government in Angola. Therefore, those who have rushed to create fake agencies as a means of raising funds on behalf of the maimed, widows, and orphans are betraying the sacrifices of those who gave all they had so that today we could live in peace and with the prospect of democracy on the horizon.

UNITA will take upon itself the role of assisting the maimed, widows, and orphans with the help of Angolan and international enterprises, and international organizations, but will let no one take advantage of the suffering caused by the war.

The church also has an important role to play so that the sentiments of peace, tolerance, and different views should be part and parcel of our way of living and political ethics.

The people should remain vigilant because the current administration has not yet put an end to its maneuvers. As the September 1992 elections draw closer, those maneuvers will become clearer. One must resist.

The year 1992 will be regarded by UNITA as the year of free elections and change of power.

Let God bless our beloved fatherland!

UNITA Radio: FAPLA Forces Mutiny in Menongue

MB0901092292 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] The People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA, soldiers mutinied in Menongue city, the capital of Cuando Cubango Province, late yesterday. The situation in the city is said to be serious.

The FAPLA soldiers are using five BMP-1 armored cars to patrol the city. They are looking for Lieutenant Colonel (Cussunua), one of the officers with the FAPLA regional chief of staff, to demand the payment of arrears in their salaries. FAPLA soldiers approached by sources connected with the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel, Vorgan, have said that should he fail to pay them they will break into the local bank.

Because of unrest among the FAPLA units, the Joint Verification and Control Commission, CMVF, has not been able to discharge its routine duties. FAPLA soldiers contacted yesterday afternoon say that UN Angola Verification Mission, UNAVEM-2 personnel, and the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FALA, troops are not in danger.

40,000 FAPLA Troops Said To Abandon Camps

MB0901074892 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] The UN Angola Verification Mission, UNAVEM-2, has confirmed that, out of some 114,000 confined People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA troops, 40,000 have abandoned their placement areas. These developments pose yet another threat to civilians in the country.

Poor living conditions in the FAPLA confinement areas appear to be the cause of those desertions.

FAPLA Said To Sell Antiaircraft Missiles in Namibia

MB0901074792 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] Senior People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA, officers are secretly selling Soviet-made antiaircraft missiles in the neighboring Republic of Namibia.

Sources in Onjiva, the capital of Angola's Cunene Province, told the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel, Vorgan, today that the Namibian Police has arrested two men involved in the sale of antiaircraft missiles. This happened in the border town of Oshikango at the end of December 1991.

It is believed that senior FAPLA officers are masterminding these illegal sales of weapons.

Task Group to Monitor Peace Accords Fulfillment

MB1101101092 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 11 Jan 92

[Report on statements by Paulo Gato, representative for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola at the Joint Political and Military Commission, on 10 January; place not given]

[Text] Following recommendations made by observers within the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM], a mechanism has been created to strengthen the implementation of the peace accords. The mechanism is to be known as the Monitoring Task Group, GAT, and includes members of government, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], and the UN Angola Verification Mission [UNAVEM]-2.

Paulo Gato, UNITA's representative at the CCPM, had this to say at end of yesterday's meeting:

[Gato] "The session reviewed last week's events in line with recommendations made by the CCPM. The session also discussed the agenda for the next session—namely, the role of each commissions."

Turning to the confinement of troops and the extension of state administration, the CCPM members decided:

[Gato] "The head of the government delegation said that it is the prerogative of the president of the Republic to hear the views of the political parties. The president of the Republic has held bilateral meetings, and a multilateral meeting will take place. Such meetings will not replace the role of the CCPM."

The session also discussed events that have taken place in assembly points concerning members of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA]. Paulo Gato accused FAPLA forces of abandoning their assembly points because of logistical problems and salary arrears.

Paulo Gato then discussed the demobilization of troops.

[Gato] "The demobilization of troops should be linked to a timetable. A specific number of troops should have been confined to assembly points. There has been a huge decline in the number of government troops confined to assembly points. We believe that an effort must be made to increase the number of confined troops. Thereafter, one should think of a general demobilization policy."

Nevertheless, according to Paulo Gato, state administration has been extended to 90 percent of the Angolan territory.

Nothing has been said about government prisoners of war held in UNITA hands, though this is a worrisome situation. One can only wait for the outcome of the next CCPM meeting scheduled to be held on 16 January.

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